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2414th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 16 February 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda.2414)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. The situation in the occupied Arab territories:
 - Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
 - Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
 - Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a. i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the occupied Arab territories:

- Letter dated 5 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15481);
- Letter dated 9 November 1982 from the Permanent Representative of Niger to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15483);
- Letter dated 8 February 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a. i. of the Permanent Mission of Jordan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15599)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): In accordance with decisions taken at previous meetings [2401st, 2412th and 2413th meetings], I invite the represen-

tatives of Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; I invite the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kouri (Cuba), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Krishnan (India), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Labaki (Lebanon), Mr. Mrani Zentar (Morocco), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. Sarré (Senegal), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Kirça (Turkey), Mr. Al-Amri (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Sallam (Yemen) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber; Mr. Terzi (Palestine Liberation Organization) took a place at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Democratic Yemen and Greece in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen) and Mr. Dountas (Greece) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. Mr. TINOCO FONSECA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour for me to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of my delegation and my Government, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Your diplomatic skill and experience will enable you to guide the work now before us with knowledge and rectitude.

4. We also wish to congratulate Mr. Amega, of Togo, for the skilful and efficient manner in which he guided our work last month, upholding the good name of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which his country and my own belong.

5. The international press has recently seen fit to remind us of the responsibility of the Government of

Israel in the massacres of Palestinians in Beirut in September of last year. The results of the investigation the Israeli Government was obliged to conduct because of pressure exerted by the Israeli people has given many sceptics a glimpse of the true nature of the Zionist State and not only of that of some of its leaders, as some have maintained. We must bear in mind that this report is not the first condemnation we have had of the role of the Israeli Government in the massacres, nor are these the first massacres that have been carried out against Palestinian civilians by forces backed by Israel. These criminal acts of genocide against the Palestinian people can be regarded as a new, ever more ruthless stage in the violation of international law, a continuation of the policies and practices that the Israeli régime has pursued in the past against the life and interests of the population of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories. Other signs of this criminal international conduct include the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories and the annexationist practices that are the subject of our deliberations today—specifically, such abuses as the illegal confiscation of the goods and lands of the Arab population, the imprisonment and murder of Palestinians and the introduction of changes in the national demographic nature and administrative machinery of the occupied territories.

6. Various delegations, and the representative of the PLO, more specifically, have already presented to the Council specific facts and figures on the usurpation now under way and plans for the future usurpation of Palestinian lands, and property. It suffices for us to reiterate that, at the beginning of this month, 28,000 dunums of land were confiscated in Palestinian villages in the Nablus area. In Yatta, near Hebron, the leaders of the community have been notified that 23,000 more dunums of land will be confiscated. A revealing article published in *The New York Times*—a source which, as the representative of the PLO noted, cannot be described as anti-Jewish or anti-Zionist—has already been quoted. It describes Israel's plans to settle 400,000 Jews in the West Bank in the next 5 years and 1.4 million in the next 30 years.

7. Neither international public opinion nor the reiterated condemnations and appeals of the United Nations have managed to restrain the Government of Israel, which has thus far continued its expansionist and repressive actions against the interests and survival of the Arab people. Except for a similar contemptuous attitude on the part of the Pretoria racist régime, this brazen disdain for international law is unparalleled in the past three decades. Otherwise, in this century it can only be compared to the attitude of madness of Nazi Germany, which resulted in a holocaust for millions of human beings and enshrined barbarism as a political virtue. That this is not empty rhetoric becomes clear when we recall Council resolutions 242(1967), 446 (1979), 465 (1980), 476 (1980), 478 (1980) and 484 (1980), which, among many others, have been grossly ignored. As for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, it would seem that the Israeli

régime has never heard or read of the following: first, that the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible and that, therefore, Israel must withdraw unconditionally from all the Arab and Palestinian territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; and, secondly, that civilians in time of war, pursuant to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ are entitled to the protection of their lives and personal safety and that, therefore, this applies to the Arab and Palestinian occupied territories.

8. I could go on at great length pointing out the innumerable ways in which the Israeli Government has disregarded and offended the international community, but it may be more appropriate to emphasize the fundamental elements for a solution to the Palestinian problem, which have already been recognized. As was stressed by the Arab heads of State at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 [see S/15510, annex, sect. I], the following are the essential elements for a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict: recognition that the question of Palestine constitutes the corner-stone of the Middle East problem; Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem; exercise of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to create its own independent State; exercise by the Palestinians of their right to choose to return to their homes; and dismantling of the settlements established by Israel in the Arab territories since 1967.

9. For the United Nations and the Arab States alike, the situation in the occupied territories has been a source of constant concern; for the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, it has been a fundamental pillar of its anti-imperialist struggle.

10. Through various initiatives, the Movement has sought a just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict. At its ministerial meetings held in Kuwait and Nicosia last year, the Movement stressed that the conflict must be resolved within the political framework of the United Nations. The condemnations of Israel for its irrational attitude towards the international community have been quite clear in the various summit meetings of the Movement throughout its history.

11. Hence, at the latest meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at the ministerial level last month at Managua, the ministers devoted much of their attention and considerable effort to pointing out that the growing links between Israel and the Latin American region, in addition to being interference, were strengthening the economy of the Zionist State. As at earlier meetings of the Movement, the ministers made it clear that the United States had used Israel in its policy of interference in the region, once again making clear their well-known collusion, which is a basic source of destabilization and suffering in the Middle East.

12. Without geographical discrimination, imperialism uses the strength conferred upon it by its economic and

military power in dealing with international conflicts. The responsibility of the United States Government in the suffering of the peoples of the territories occupied by Israel is clear-cut in view of the indiscriminate massive military, political and moral support given by that Government to the various Zionist administrations. The brazenness and cynicism with which the invasion of Lebanon was carried out and the permissiveness demonstrated with regard to the Sabra and Shatila massacres, in spite of the appalled reaction of the international community, would not have been possible without that support.

13. However, as we know, unfortunately, it is not through more words and more unimplemented resolutions of the Council that that desperate situation in which the peoples of the occupied territories find themselves will be changed. What is needed is firm and consistent action by the Council.

14. Only yesterday, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which has been meeting at Geneva since 31 January, adopted resolution 1983/1, in which the Commission condemned for the umpteenth time the violation of the human rights of the Palestinians and requested the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, to appeal once again to the Security Council to adopt against Israel the measures provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. That was yet another appeal by the Commission on Human Rights.

15. In the face of the suffering of his people, the representative of the PLO has already beseeched the Council to shoulder its responsibility. We understand full well the limitations and complex nature of the Council; but we must not forget that it is this loftiest forum which offers the greatest hope of relief for oppressed and subjugated peoples and that, therefore, it is urgent that effective measures be taken and, if necessary, as was pointed out by the representative of the PLO, that it be decided that there is no place in the United Nations for such criminals and perpetrators of genocide.

16. This is the challenge, and we must be ready to meet it.

17. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since this is the first time that I have spoken in the Council this year, I am happy to welcome your assumption, Sir, of the presidency for the month of February. Your qualities of intelligence and finesse are well known and appreciated by all, and we are glad to be benefiting from your experience and wisdom.

18. I should be grateful to you if you would transmit to Mr. Amega, who last month presided over our deliberations with great determination and talent, our deep gratitude for the services he rendered to the Council.

19. I am also happy to welcome our new colleagues from Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe.

20. This is not the first time that the Council has met to consider the question of settlements in the occupied territories. But, as Israel is continuing its policy of establishing settlements against the unanimous opinion of the international community, the Council has once again to take up the matter.

21. Sharing, as it does, the legitimate feelings aroused in the world by these actions, the French Government condemns most energetically the continuation of Israel's policy in this area.

22. It might be worth while to recall that the French Government has always opposed legislative or other measures taken by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories or to create new settlements. My Government believes that the policy of *fait accompli* pursued by Israel in the territories it has occupied since 1967 is unacceptable. It is contrary to the rules of international law, particularly the Hague Convention of 1907² and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ whereby the occupying Power is bound to preserve the demographic, economic and cultural nature of the regions it is occupying.

23. My Government especially regrets Israel's actions because they have occurred at a time when peace initiatives are emerging in greater number than ever in an attempt to find a solution to the Middle East conflict. Whether it be the Franco-Egyptian draft resolution [S/15317], which, I would remind the Council, is still on the Council table, or President Reagan's statement of 1 September 1982,³ or the Final Declaration of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, adopted at Fez on 9 September 1982 [S/15510, *annex*], the search for a solution seems to have entered a particularly active diplomatic phase. The Arab parties concerned, with a determination which does them credit, seem to wish to seek, through negotiation, to put an end to a conflict that has lasted for more than 35 years.

24. In these circumstances, everything possible must be done by those who bear responsibility in the region to encourage such useful and praiseworthy initiatives and not to undermine them deliberately and without any valid justification.

25. A refusal would risk ending attempts at negotiation and the hopes of those peoples who have suffered and continue to suffer from war, with its toll of death, devastation and ruin. The chances for peace are still too slim for anyone to risk compromising them by unilateral measures, the urgency or even the usefulness of which is difficult to understand.

26. The French delegation therefore calls upon the Government of Israel to abide by the rules of international law. But it also appeals to the sense of reason and responsibility of the Israeli authorities and urges them not to compromise the chances for peace by regrettable initiatives. It is indeed by dialogue and not by unilateral measures that lasting peace can be established in the region.

27. Mr. WHYTE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, you yourself made a suggestion very informally and very recently that in the interest of streamlining our procedures you would be quite happy to forgo the usual courtesies in which we indulge in the Council. It seems to me, however, that we have already reached the point at which to follow your suggestion would itself be a very considerable discourtesy. Accordingly, my delegation salutes you; we congratulate you; we will endeavour, to the best of our ability, to co-operate with you.

28. We should like also to place on record our admiration for the manner in which the business of the Council was conducted by Mr. Amega during the past month and, since this is, I think, the first occasion on which my delegation has spoken in the Council this year, we should also like to join others in greeting our new colleagues on the Council, the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe.

29. We have met to resume consideration of Israel's settlements policy. This is only one aspect of the Arab-Israel dispute, but it is a very important one. I propose to begin by addressing directly the question of settlements and then to go on briefly to the wider aspects of the dispute.

30. I have listened carefully to the concerns about Israeli settlements which have been expressed by the previous speakers. The concerns were not new. But they were expressed, I believe, with a renewed urgency. The reason for this urgency is obvious. It lies in the Government of Israel's expressed determination to promote a policy of rapid settlement in the occupied territories and the very visible evidence of how that policy is being implemented on the ground.

31. My Government's position on this matter is quite clear. We consider that the Hague Convention of 1907² and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ are applicable to all the Arab territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war, including East Jerusalem. It is our firm view that the establishment of Israeli settlements in those territories, along with any changes in their status and demographic composition, are contrary to international law; ultimately, a policy of settlement is hard to reconcile with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, as specified in Council resolution 242 (1967). We recall in this connection our positive votes in favour of Council resolutions 465 (1980), 478 (1980) and 497 (1981), among others.

32. This is the position as laid down by international law. But we oppose the settlements policy because we also believe it is against the interests of peace. It conflicts with the interests of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories; indeed, it ignores their rights. But it is also against the interests of Israel and its people if they want to achieve a lasting peace settlement with their Arab neighbours.

33. The British Secretary of State, Mr. Francis Pym, reiterated this view in a speech to the Conference of

Jewish Leaders from the Commonwealth on 30 November last, in the course of which he appealed for a settlements freeze. After noting that the Israeli Government had not complied with President Reagan's call of 1 September 1982 for such a freeze, he said:

"In my view, this action does a profound disservice to the cause of peace, and I say this to you in candour. The attempt to change the *status quo* in the territories which Israel occupies does more than anything else to undermine confidence that Israel truly seeks a peaceful accommodation with her Arab neighbours. In saying that, I am aware, of course, of the strong feeling of many Israeli Jews that they have a historical right to settle in the West Bank and Gaza. But the Palestinians already living in these territories also feel strongly that their identity as a people is being eroded. With each new settlement—and some Israeli sources estimate that as much as half of the West Bank is denied to its Arab inhabitants—despair deepens. That is why a settlement freeze is so necessary and so urgent."

It is urgent that there should be no more settlement. No new obstacles to the peace process should be erected. But there is an added urgency for appealing to Israel at this time for a settlements freeze, and this urgency lies in the current state of the peace process.

34. We are once again, it seems to us, at a crossroads for the Arab-Israel dispute. The harrowing events of last summer, culminating in the awful massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, have acted as a catalyst for renewed efforts for peace. Important new peace initiatives have been put forward. It is imperative that they should not lose their momentum, the more so since non-Lebanese armies remain in Lebanon and innocent civilians continue to lose their lives.

35. One very constructive set of proposals, including the call for the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel, has come from President Reagan.³ My Government has welcomed these proposals. We believe that they could provide a basis for negotiations acceptable to all parties. We hope that on further reflection neither side will let slip this critical opportunity to unravel the tangled skein and knit the threads together again in a fashion more secure and more durable.

36. We are somewhat encouraged in this hope by the proposals which were put forward by the Arab countries at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, held at Fez in November 1981 and September 1982 [*ibid.*]. Those proposals seem to us to show that the Arab side is agreed on the need to work for a political solution. We welcome the talks which have taken place already between the Jordanian Government and the PLO as a part of this process. We hope that the Palestine National Council, meeting even now in Algiers, will make a further positive contribution.

37. As members of the Security Council, it is surely our common responsibility to urge the parties concerned to seize the opportunity which appears to exist at this moment and which may not last for long. And a major

step in facilitating this would be a freeze on settlements by the Government of Israel. This could provide a stimulus to all those involved in the current negotiations to break through to new and mutually satisfactory agreements.

38. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): This being the first time I am speaking under your presidency, Sir, may I congratulate you on your assumption of this high office and convey to you my best wishes and those of my delegation.

39. May I also take this opportunity to express my appreciation and respect to your predecessor, the representative of Togo, for the competent way in which he carried out the functions of the presidency last month.

40. The Netherlands attaches the greatest importance to all matters affecting the rights of the population of the territories which Israel occupied in 1967. We have repeatedly stated that the provisions of the fourth Hague Convention of 1907² and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ are applicable to the territories occupied in 1967. This implies that the Israeli settlements in those territories, as well as the changes in the status and the demographic structures of those territories, are illegal under international law and contrary to the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, as specified in Council resolution 242 (1967).

41. The Netherlands is therefore deeply concerned by the Israeli policy on settlements. During the last year, Israel has once again maintained and developed its existing settlements and established yet more new ones. Each construction or expansion of a settlement will only increase the strong and justified resentment of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Moreover, the stated intention of the Israeli Government further to expand the settlement programme can only serve to undermine the necessary basis for dialogue and trust, which are essential prerequisites for any constructive negotiations to reach a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

42. The Netherlands strongly supports the call by the President of the United States for the immediate adoption of a settlement freeze by Israel. It would be an encouraging action on the part of the Israeli Government if the decision further to increase the number of settlements in the occupied territories were forthwith rescinded. A continuation of the settlement policy, which has met with world-wide disapproval, would constitute one of the most serious obstacles to progress towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

43. The need for a negotiated, comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is more pressing than ever. There can be no real peace or stability in the region unless the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, with all that that implies, is recognized and laid down in a comprehensive settlement which would at the same time recognize the principle of security for all States in the region, including Israel's right to exist.

44. As is well known, these two essential principles have been set out by the 10 States members of the European Community in the declaration issued at Venice on 13 June 1980 [S/14009] and in their subsequent statements on the issue, to which the Netherlands Government firmly adheres. Within this framework, the Netherlands will continue to be active in pursuing its efforts to promote a comprehensive, just and lasting peace settlement in the region.

45. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. ABULHASSAN (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to address you in Arabic for the first time since it was unanimously introduced as an official working language in the Council. The Arabic language reflects the civilization and thought of a nation that has had and still has an important role in the mainstream of international relations.

47. Allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of February and to confirm the absolute confidence of my delegation in your competence to conduct the deliberations of the Council, given your wisdom, ability and perfect objectivity.

48. I also want to express the appreciation of my delegation for the way in which your predecessor, Mr. Amega, the representative of Togo, conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of January.

49. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the new members of the Council, the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, and to wish them success in their new and important mission.

50. The illegitimate Israeli practices and policies in the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967 are no longer a secret. In fact, they have become a widespread issue, well known to everyone in their totality and detail. These practices and policies, which have been the hallmark of the Israeli leaders since the establishment of the State of Israel on the Arab land of Palestine, have been discussed at length in different international forums. Many resolutions have been adopted which Israel has disregarded in contempt of the reputation and dignity of those organizations, reflecting in such conduct the aggressive, arrogant Israeli philosophy.

51. The Israeli record in this respect is brim-full, swelling with inhumane colonial crimes of which I shall mention, as examples, the following: first, the annexation of parts of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, such as Jerusalem and the Arab Syrian Golan Heights, by a unilateral measure, without waiting for any negotiations to be held on the future of the occupied territories, territories which the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection

of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ provides should remain intact and unchanged until their final future status is determined; secondly, the continuation of the seizure by the Israeli authorities of Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza, either through confiscation or through public theft; thirdly, the continuation of the establishment of new Israeli settlements on Arab territory, the transfer of Western elements to settle there, and the expansion of old settlements; fourthly, evacuation, deportation, expulsion, displacement and transfer of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories and denial of their right to return—even to their homes; fifthly, excavations that transform and alter the historical, cultural and religious character, especially in the area of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the pillaging of cultural and archaeological property; sixthly, collective punishment, mass arrests and arbitrary administrative detention; seventhly, restriction of religious freedoms and established practices and customs; eighthly, continuous restrictions on educational institutions in an attempt to stop the Palestinian educational tide; ninthly, restriction of the freedom of movement of the Arab citizens; and, tenthly, pillage of the natural resources of the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

52. The Israeli objective behind these and other oppressive, arbitrary political practices is a clear, well-known one that has long been discussed and documented in various international circles. That long-term objective, of which all the above-mentioned means and practices are part, is a prelude to Israel's permanent annexation of the West Bank and Gaza, through a policy aimed at the destruction of the Palestinian and Arab character in the occupied lands, and even its physical annihilation, a policy that has been expanded to reach every Palestinian, even outside his homeland. That is what was expressed by the barbaric Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the acts of destruction and genocide that made the whole world shiver and culminated in the criminal carnage of unarmed Palestinian civilians in the camps of Sabra and Shatila. The Israeli judicial investigation commission has found some Israeli Government members guilty; but the entire Israeli Government, as the occupying Power, must be charged with direct collective responsibility for the perpetration of those massacres, which are part and parcel of the process of the annihilation of the Palestinian people. That, in turn, is an inseparable part of the wider Israeli design that the Israeli leaders intend to carry out over the scattered dead bodies of the Palestinian people.

53. If that is the Israeli objective behind these endless atrocities, in the perpetration of which Israeli soldiers fired their bullets right into the chests of unarmed children—unarmed except for stones in their hands—there is no doubt that these practices constitute *per se* a violation of various international laws and practices and are a direct violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The General Assembly confirmed that fact in resolution 37/88 of 10 December 1982, in which it reaffirmed that the measures taken by Israel, as the occupying State, aimed at

changing the legal status, geographic nature and demographic composition of the occupied territories constitute a violation of the above-mentioned Geneva Convention and declared once again that the atrocious Israeli violations of that Convention constitute war crimes and an affront to humanity. In that resolution, the Assembly further declared that such measures gravely obstruct the efforts to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It requested the Security Council to ensure Israel's respect for the Geneva Convention and the application of its provisions in the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and to initiate the necessary measures to halt those illegal Israeli policies and practices.

54. General Assembly resolution 37/88 is but the latest link in a chain of similar resolutions that condemn Israel's continued policies and practices in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories. Hence, it seems to my delegation that the time has come for us all to understand that Israel's continued disregard of whatever resolutions the United Nations adopts concerning its colonialist expansionist policies in the occupied territories dictates that the Council, as the Organization's instrument of peace, face this despicable situation and exert its international authority in a serious attempt to restore confidence in the United Nations—a confidence that diminishes further year after year as a result of Israel's persistent efforts to shatter the reputation of the Organization through disregard of its resolutions. The Charter of the United Nations is clear and straightforward in the ways to deal with such situations, and reference to Chapter VII ought to clarify what we should do. Therefore, my delegation calls upon the Council to shoulder its responsibilities and implement the provisions of the Charter.

55. The Council is requested to put an end to Israel's continued disregard by compelling it to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967 and to withdraw completely from Lebanon, in accordance with Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) and other resolutions; by compelling Israel, in the period prior to its withdrawal from the occupied territories, to respect the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and comply with all its provisions in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, and to halt its arbitrary and expansionist policies and practices in those territories and immediately to cease building new settlements and remove existing ones so that the owners of those lands may regain their rights; and by reaffirming that any change in the legal status, geographic nature or demographic composition of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories constitutes a violation of the provisions of the Geneva Convention and is hence null and void.

56. The experience of the United Nations with regard to Israel is, indeed, a unique one in its bitterness. Israel's immediate automatic rejection of all United Nations resolutions relative to its policies should prompt the Organization to attempt to find more efficient means of enforcing its decisions.

57. The first thought that comes to mind in this respect is the concern of some of the permanent members of the Council not to hurt the feelings of the Israeli leaders, in spite of their apparent criminal tendencies, under the pretext that logic and not pressure is the most efficient means of restoring Israel to its senses, a concern which we can say is ill-placed, because our experience with Israel has taught us that Israel and logic are like oil and water—unmixable—and that the only consideration that can influence the leaders of Israel is their awareness that they might have to pay a high price should they wish to persist in their policies. That price may be related to the huge economic and military assistance they get from the United States despite their persistence in pursuing their inhuman policies, or it may be related to the automatic support they get in the Council through the use of the veto against any draft resolution aimed at imposing sanctions against Israel.

58. Israel's illegal policies and practices in the West Bank and Gaza may well be considered a time bomb threatening the entire region. My delegation therefore requests the Council to shoulder its duties since it is the international instrument for creating a just and durable peace throughout the world.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

60. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like first of all, Comrade President, to tell you how very pleased the Cuban delegation is at seeing you presiding over the Council for the month of February. Your recognized qualities as an experienced diplomat and as a man of justice go hand in hand with your invariable policy of principle in favour of the just cause of the heroic people of Palestine. I have no doubt, therefore, that under your presidency the Council will successfully conclude its important deliberations on the question now before us.

61. I should like also to commend my colleague, Mr. Amega, of Togo, who presided over the Council last month.

62. I equally avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the election and participation as members of the Council of the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, whom I wish every success in their important functions.

63. On many occasions we have expressed in the Council the position of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries—over which President Fidel Castro has presided since 1979—on the situation in the Middle East; its Gordian knot, the question of Palestine; and the consequences of that deteriorating situation for international peace and security. There is also a general awareness of the negative impact that Israel's continued illegal occupation of Arab territories acquired by force since 1967 has on a just, comprehensive and lasting solution of the Middle East problem.

64. One need not be particularly perceptive, therefore, to see that the events which followed the brutal aggression against Lebanon perpetrated by the Zionist régime of Israel with the support and connivance of the United States Government to protect its odious "strategic alliance", the horrendous massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps and elsewhere in southern Lebanon, the numerous atrocities committed daily against the Arab and Palestinian peoples in the occupied territories, and the unbridled policy of colonization, de-Arabization and extermination carried out by the Israeli authorities in those territories, including Jerusalem, all constitute flagrant defiance of the authority of the Council, which is endowed with the highest responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security by the Charter of the United Nations and by the will of the international community itself. They also represent the most dangerous recent development in an explosive situation which in the past had already brought the world to the brink of war.

65. World-wide condemnation of the brutal acts committed by the Israeli army in Lebanon, especially its clear responsibility in the Sabra and Shatila massacres, has been such that, faced with angry protests from many sectors within Israel itself, Begin's adventurist, expansionist and exclusivist Government had no choice but to accept the verdict of the commission of inquiry, which established its responsibility for those events.

66. For justice to be complete, the Zionist criminal attackers of Lebanon responsible for the massacres of defenceless Palestinians and the harassment, torture and persecution of the Arab people in the occupied territories should meet the same fate as the Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg.

67. The persistence of the Israeli policy of colonization in the occupied Arab territories, Israel's aggression unleashed against Lebanon and its continued occupation of that independent and non-aligned State, its expansionist and hegemonic ambitions, as well as its intention of exterminating the long-suffering and heroic Palestinian people, deserve the most vigorous condemnation of the Council.

68. It is imperative to reiterate once again that all the measures adopted by Israel to modify the physical nature, the demographic composition, the institutional structure or the status of the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, as well as the establishment of new settlements, are devoid of any legal validity, constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ and are an obstacle to any genuine, comprehensive and just solution of the Middle East conflict.

69. It is our considered opinion that the Council should be in a position to impose upon the Israeli authorities the broad and binding sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that it should hold

them responsible for the illegal and criminal acts committed in Lebanon and other occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, and that it should demand that Israel immediately and unconditionally put an end to its prolonged occupation of those territories, including Jerusalem.

70. It is imperative, too, to adopt the measures necessary to guarantee the security and the rights of the Palestinian refugees in all territories occupied by Israel.

71. Cuba reiterates its profound conviction that a just, comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict will be possible only with the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to return to their homes and to the creation of their own State in Palestine. No solution can be valid without the participation, on an equal footing, of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

72. My Government trusts that the members of the Council will fulfil their lofty duties, as prescribed by the Charter and as demanded by world opinion, and that they will put an end to the insolent defiance by the Zionist authorities of Israel.

73. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

74. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Comrade President, at the very outset I should like to thank the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to define my country's position regarding the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

75. It is indeed a great pleasure for me cordially to congratulate you, Mr. Troyanovsky, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of February, because our two countries are linked by close ties of friendship and co-operation. My delegation wishes you every success in tackling the tasks facing the Council this month.

76. At the same time, I should like to reiterate our gratitude to the representative of Togo, Mr. Amega, for his service as President for the month of January.

77. My delegation would like to congratulate warmly the new members of the Council and to wish the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe every success in the performance of their duties as members of this important organ.

78. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic has a great understanding of the request made by the representative of Jordan, in his capacity as chairman of the Group of Arab States, that the debate concerning the situation in the occupied Arab territories be resumed. In fact, since the opening of the debate at the end of last year, the situation in the occupied Arab territories has become

more and more critical. Almost every day, the world public is faced with acts of terror and violence committed by the Israeli occupation forces in the occupied territories in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, the Syrian Golan Heights and southern Lebanon.

79. Israel's ruling circles are escalating, without scruple, their policy of driving the Arab population out of Palestinian territory, of undermining the economy, the national culture and the educational system of the Palestinian people, and of imprisoning thousands of Palestinians.

80. The extension of Israel's land-settlement policy, which is contrary to international law, is cause for grave concern. The establishment of a growing number of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories is an essential part of the policy of de-Arabization pursued by Israel's ruling circles. Also, the debate here in the Council confirms anew the fact to which many representatives have alluded repeatedly and for a long time: that Israel is systematically pursuing a policy aimed at the final annexation of the Palestinian territories. The process of the "creeping annexation" of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has already made considerable headway.

81. It has also been repeatedly ascertained in this forum that Israel's policy of terror and violence is not only a permanent threat to security and stability in the region, but also a great threat to world peace.

82. No attempt of any kind to exculpate Israel from this charge can veil the facts. Not even giving honour and glory to certain reports in connection with the crimes committed in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila can make us ignore the fact that Israel has been conducting a relentless extermination campaign against the people of Palestine for decades.

83. It is also well known why Israel's ruling circles disregard the world public's demand that they stop immediately their policy of aggression and occupation. Israel is encouraged to commit new acts of aggression and to tighten its régime of occupation by the unlimited economic, political and military support of the United States. Only recently, the United States considered increasing its military and financial assistance to the aggressor.

84. Thus, the Israeli war of aggression against Lebanon and the atrocious crimes committed against the Palestinian people are direct consequences of the "strategic alliance" between Israel and the United States. And it is no secret that this alliance is aimed at extending the military presence of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the Middle East, at implementing their hegemonic endeavours in that region, and at thwarting the world-wide efforts to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement in the Middle East. These plans also include attempts to impede the establishment of a Palestinian State and to shut the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, out of a Middle East settlement. There is an attempt to revive the failed policy of separate agreements with so-called new

initiatives. But these attempts disclose the intention of sanctioning the Israeli aggression by political and diplomatic means.

85. Concerned about the dangerous situation in the Middle East, and conscious of their great responsibility for safeguarding peace, the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty paid special attention to these problems during their recent meeting at Prague. In their Political Declaration they therefore point out the following:

"The participants in the meeting attach particular importance to the solution of the most protracted and most dangerous conflict—the conflict in the Middle East. They sharply denounce Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and the bestial extermination of the civilian population of west Beirut. In its aggressive acts, Israel was encouraged by those who granted it aid and support from outside.

"The participants in the meeting demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and safeguards for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country.

"They are favourably disposed towards the principles for solving the problem of a Middle East settlement put forward at the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference held at Fez, . . ." [S/15556, annex, sect. IV].

86. In a message of greetings addressed by the Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, to the sixteenth session of the Palestine National Council that is now under way at Algiers, the German Democratic Republic most strongly condemns the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, the barbarous massacres of the residents of the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut and the continuing acts of terrorism of the Israeli occupiers against Palestinian refugees in southern Lebanon. The message further says:

"The failure of the adventurous plans of imperialism to smash the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has demonstrated to the world that the Palestinian issue cannot be settled by force. It becomes ever more evident that a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement requires the convening of an international conference with equal participation by all interested sides, including the PLO. Such settlement must guarantee complete withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, and implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly its right to self-determination and creation of an independent State.

"You may rest assured that the German Democratic Republic will continue to side unswervingly in active solidarity with the Palestinian people and its sole, legitimate representative, the PLO."

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

88. Mr. AL-AMRI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. I cannot fail to express our recognition of the major role played by the Soviet Union in advocating the struggle waged by the Palestinian Arab people to win its right to self-determination and liberty. We are confident that your political experience will enable you to conduct the proceedings of the Council successfully.

89. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the representative of Togo, who presided over the Council's meetings last month.

90. I would also express our congratulations to the delegations of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe on their admission to membership of the Council.

91. The Council is resuming its consideration of Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. This is an item that has become a perennial part of the Council's agenda because of the repeated acts of aggression committed by Israel against the Arab States and peoples. As soon as consideration of one form of Israeli aggression is concluded, the world finds itself once more in the throes of another Israeli violation, whether in the form of Israeli military aggression against an Arab State, an escalation in the building of illegitimate settlements, or the confiscation and annexation of further Arab territories. The latest manifestation of such acts of aggression was the recent war waged by Israel against Lebanon, which resulted in the destruction of many Lebanese cities and the harassment and murder of many defenceless and innocent Lebanese and Palestinian refugees, as well as in the levelling of their camps. Israel has further revealed its racist, terrorist nature by engineering and overseeing the horrendous massacres in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila that resulted in the murder of women and children and the elderly. How bone-chilling was the sight of the dead bodies of those innocent persons lying dismembered amongst the ruins and devastation caused by Israel. These inhuman tragedies perpetrated by Israel constitute a flagrant violation of the most fundamental human rights. They are acts that are utterly repugnant to the human conscience. Nor did the matter stop at that stage. Innocent persons in the occupied territories are still being subjected to every kind of terrorism on the part of Israel and its allies. We continue to learn of the plight of Palestinians and Lebanese in the occupied territories and of the likelihood of further massacres. Such inhuman acts require that the international community assume its responsibilities.

92. The latest Israeli deeds are a further link in a series that began with the occupation of Palestine and the dis-

placing of the Palestinian people. Here, we see Israel seeking to complete this chain, which will culminate in the physical elimination of that people in order to silence its cries for freedom and self-determination.

93. The policy of establishing Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories is another example of Israel's arrogance and of its violation of all international conventions and resolutions, especially those adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly. By that policy, Israel plans to alter the geographic and demographic character of the occupied territories in order to create a new *fait accompli* that will make it easier for it to annex the West Bank and the Gaza Strip after its annexation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. By building further settlements, Israel aims at the disruption of all peace efforts. That undertaking reflects Israel's manifest will to expand at the expense of Arab rights.

94. Israel's continued violation of all international instruments and laws, its daily practices in the occupied Arab territories and its attitude towards every effort and endeavour aimed at finding a permanent peaceful solution in the Middle East prove beyond any doubt that it is not desirous of peace and is not interested in achieving any progress towards a solution of the problem. Rather, it deliberately seeks to sabotage any efforts in this respect. As is evident from the course it has taken, Israel seeks to reach one goal: the impossible goal of the capitulation of the Palestinian Arab people into accepting the occupation of its territories and enslavement by Israel.

95. Israel's expansionist policies have been very costly to the Middle East area. Since the creation of the Zionist entity, the area has been in a state of instability and turmoil. Those policies have also constituted a perennial source of danger, jeopardizing the entire region as well as international peace and security. At the same time, Israel has persisted in riding roughshod over all relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. This brings into question the usefulness and effectiveness of the Council in maintaining international peace and deterring the aggressor. These two bodies have become completely immobilized, unable to put an end to these practices and to eliminate the injustices to which the Arab people are subjected in Arab territories.

96. The responsibility for obstructing the Council in discharging its responsibility with regard to Israel's terrorist actions must be borne by the United States, which uses its international weight to defend those policies by its abuse of its right of veto in the Council, in addition to providing Israel with all kinds of weapons that are used in destroying Arab cities and murdering innocent persons. Thus, it shows that it is sharing responsibility for what is taking place in the Middle East at a time when we had expected it to take a different stance, since it is a world Power with responsibility for the maintenance of peace and since it voices slogans about the freedom and self-determination of peoples.

97. The international community is more than ever called upon to take a strong stand in order to stop Israeli violations and protect the innocent people in the occupied territories.

98. The United Arab Emirates calls upon the Council to discharge its historical responsibilities and do whatever is necessary to put an end to Israel's violations of all international instruments and resolutions and compel it to comply with them.

99. We refer to all the Council and Assembly resolutions in this respect. We wish to cite in particular General Assembly resolution 37/86 D, adopted on 10 December 1982, which calls on the Security Council to discharge its responsibilities in such a way as to enable the Palestinian Arab people to gain its freedom, exercise the right to self-determination and establish its own independent State, under the leadership of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Lebanon. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

101. Mr. LABAKI (Lebanon) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, I am pleased to address the Council during a meeting being held under your presidency.

102. This meeting was to be devoted to the question of the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, it being understood that the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories are those that were occupied in the course of the 1967 war and that the *de facto* situation created in those territories could in no way be compared to the situation prevailing in some parts of Lebanon—a situation which no one claims to want to prolong. In any event, this is what was stated in the request for convening the Council which was addressed to the President. Therefore, I had not intended to speak, leaving that task, for the sake of effectiveness, to those of our colleagues who are more directly affected by the situation.

103. However, since what is happening or might be happening in Lebanon has been discussed far and wide, in spite of the decisions taken by the Group of Arab States at the United Nations—a Group of which we are a member and with which we are in solidarity—I find myself obliged to say that, with regard to disinformation, the threshold of the intolerable has been reached and to recall that, in the course of the eight years of war imposed upon Lebanon, which took a toll of more than 100,000 Lebanese lives, in the terrible silence of the whole world, and destroyed part of the economic structure of the country, causing damage amounting to many billions of dollars, Lebanon, always concerned about safeguarding Arab solidarity, came to the Council only for the establishment of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and for successive renewals of its mandate and sought to prevent, and often to thwart, any polemics with anyone.

104. Lebanon is consistent with the course of action it has set for itself and is not changing course. However, it seems that our behaviour and the self-restraint we have imposed on ourselves have been misinterpreted. It seems, above all, that some have imagined that they could act as substitutes for Lebanese authority and deal with matters that are the sole competence of Lebanon, thus calling into question our sovereignty and the authority of the State within internationally recognized borders—a sovereignty and an authority which could in no way be undermined by an ongoing and, of course, temporary situation. No one anywhere could ever replace Lebanese authority. No one can put Lebanon in the dock.

105. Our sole concern today is for the future. Our goal is to obtain, with the least possible delay, the liberation of our national territory. Within the Tripartite Commission, Lebanon is negotiating the withdrawal of Israeli forces. It is at the same time proceeding to direct consultations aimed at the withdrawal of all other forces and armed elements, whose departure has already been requested by the Government. That is why we refuse to engage in any debate that might result in obstructing the progress of these negotiations and these consultations, which we expect will, in the end, yield results that will safeguard the interests of all the parties concerned. All these parties must, of course, endeavour—as we ourselves are endeavouring—not to compromise, by their words or their behaviour in the field, either the results already achieved, which have been reported in a very recent statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, or the general atmosphere that can promote positive developments.

106. Everyone must be aware that we wish to draw from the past and present only what will enlighten our path for the future. In any event, of course, I would conclude by saying that we are grateful to all those who in this very forum, in response to our approach, have given us their support, as well as to those who have taken sincere initiatives on our behalf.

107. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

108. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): Mr. President, I thank you and the members of the Council for acceding to my request to participate in this debate. Allow me, at the outset, to express the congratulations of my delegation to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I am confident that, under your wise and experienced guidance, the Council will discharge its responsibilities effectively. Our appreciation goes also to the representative of Togo, Mr. Amega, who was President of the Council in January.

109. Since this is the first time this year that I have had the opportunity to address the Council, I should like to extend to the new members, namely, Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, our warmest congratulations.

110. Once more the Council has to consider the Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. Its many meetings on this problem reflect the undiminished concern of the world community over the policies of the Israeli Government in those territories. My Government, which follows closely those disturbing policies, has had the opportunity to express its views unequivocally and on many occasions. The question of territory is perhaps the gravest of the many aspects of this multifaceted problem. The settlement policies practised by Israel in this context are constantly aggravating the situation in the area. We have to note with deep regret that the Government of Israel has consistently ignored the many resolutions of the United Nations with regard to the occupied territories, as well as the views of third countries that play an important role in developments in the Middle East.

111. We have also to mention that, apart from their illegal nature, these deplorable policies of the Israeli Government, which include the totally unacceptable annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, have also resulted in untold human suffering and loss of life in the area.

112. I am certainly stating the obvious by saying that the present situation in the occupied Arab territories cannot be isolated from the problem of the self-determination of the Palestinian people. I should like, in this context, to reiterate the basic position of my Government, namely, that the PLO should be recognized as the sole representative of the Palestinians and should be so enhanced as to be able to contribute decisively to the realization of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including their right to create their own State.

113. In the meantime, Israel, whose right to exist as a sovereign State within secure boundaries should be fully recognized, should withdraw, without any further delay, from all the territories occupied since 1967. No other position, it seems to us, would be consistent with the fundamental principle that the acquisition of territory by any use of force whatsoever can in no way be condoned. The more often that principle, enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations and in the Helsinki Final Act, is ignored and violated, the more imperative becomes our duty to see that it is implemented.

114. This is the time for action, not only by the parties to the conflict, but also by the international community as a whole. The present situation of continuous defiance of the principles of the Charter and of resolutions of the United Nations on the Middle East could endanger international peace and security.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

116. Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me Sir, at the outset to express

to you warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We know from many previous occasions your great expertise and ability in conducting the Council's proceedings, and we are confident that your well-known tact will enable you again to conduct them successfully. We are pleased that you represent a country—the Soviet Union—that has advocated just causes and stood by all peoples struggling for independence, sovereignty and social progress at the same time as it has called for and worked sincerely towards the maintenance of international peace and security. Indeed, our countries are linked by bonds of friendship and co-operation.

117. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express my appreciation to Mr. Amega, of Togo, who presided over the work of the Council last month with wisdom and ability.

118. I cannot fail to commend on this occasion Council resolution 528 (1982) making Arabic an official language of the Security Council. This is recognition of the cultural contribution of Arabic, which has become one of the major languages of the contemporary world.

119. The Council is resuming consideration of the situation in the occupied Arab territories in the light of new political developments. In addition to Israel's continued occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan, there is the occupation of what is now called the "North Bank". By this I mean Lebanon, the southern part of which is suffering under the yoke of Israeli occupation. It has been said that one of the aims of the Israeli authorities in invading Lebanon, in addition to satisfying Israeli expansionist greed, was to stifle the valiant national resistance in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan and to frustrate and pre-empt any political solution that might lead to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, especially after it had become quite clear that the Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories were resolutely supporting their national leadership and their sole, legitimate representative, the PLO. Israel believed that, through its war against the PLO and its terrorizing of the Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, it would discourage the Palestinian people from struggling against the occupation and settlement. Israel believed it could shake the confidence of the Palestinian masses in their leadership, but it has seen that the resistance is increasing in intensity. Today we see the Palestine National Council meeting in order to renew the pledge and reaffirm the unshakeable determination of the Palestinian people to achieve victory.

120. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon coincided with a serious intensification of the settlement process in the West Bank and Gaza. The Council has listened to an account of the barbaric acts perpetrated by the Israeli authorities using all means and methods, from terrorizing the Palestinians in order to force them to give up their property to encouraging new colonists to usurp the land and establish new settlements. It must be recognized that this settlement process, although a natural corollary of the

Israeli policy based on aggression and expansion, is in fact a most grave manifestation of occupation, because it aims at creating a new *fait accompli* that makes it impossible to implement United Nations resolutions concerning the Palestinian people, especially those concerning the right to return and the right to self-determination.

121. That is why the Council unanimously adopted its famous resolution 465 (1980), in paragraph 5 of which the Council:

*"Determines that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof have no legal validity and that Israel's policy and practices of settling parts of its population and new immigrants in those territories constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and also constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East."**

122. The adoption of that historic resolution was a decisive answer to all the lame legal excuses put forward by Israel to invest the settlements which it is building so fast in the occupied territories with a legal character. Therefore, the representative of Israel stated at that time that Israel would not abide by the resolution. Indeed, the Israeli Government decided to flout that resolution by persisting in its policy of establishing settlements.

123. That Israeli challenge to the Council was not the first of its kind. During the invasion of Lebanon and the occupation of its territory by Israel, the Council adopted resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), demanding Israel's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon. To date we are still awaiting that withdrawal.

124. How can we explain the persistence of occupation and of the unjust conditions imposed by Israel in return for a promise to withdraw from Lebanese territory? How can we hope that Israel will withdraw while it is preparing for a long stay? And how can we explain the position of the United States, which voted for the two resolutions, 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), and which is today supervising the negotiations on conditions for withdrawal, thus eroding the prestige and authority of the Council?

125. The United States, which provides Israel with military and political support, is the party that encourages the Zionist entity to flout the international community and the Council in particular. However, there are those who expect the United States to pressure Israel into withdrawing from Lebanon and into finding a political solution that would put an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, ignoring the fact that Washington itself is the party that is subjected to Zionist pressure, especially when elections are approaching.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

126. The valiant resistance has not stopped in the occupied territories; in Lebanon we see that the Lebanese resistance is inflicting costly losses on the Israeli forces. The situation in Palestine and the Middle East will not be stable without the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The whole world now supports the right of the Palestinian people to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of its own independent State. The Council has a responsibility to use its powers as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations to implement its resolutions. The peoples of the world are waiting. Will the Council act?

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I will now make a statement as representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

128. The Soviet delegation believes that the initiative taken by the Group of Arab States in calling for a resumption of the discussion in the Council of the question of the situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel is a timely one. This problem has been under consideration by the Council for many years now, and with each passing year, with each passing month of the Israeli occupation, the scale of the expansionist policy of Tel Aviv becomes increasingly apparent. The goal of that policy is extremely clear: it is to perpetuate the seizure of the ancestral Arab lands and to deprive the Palestinian people of their homeland.

129. Since 1967, the ruling circles in Israel have persistently been undermining all attempts to bring about a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict. Along with this, they have been waging in the Arab territories a campaign of open colonial plunder and preparing the ground for their final absorption. For almost 16 years now, the occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights has been continuing. In the course of all these long years, the Israeli authorities have, in a planned and methodical fashion, been carrying out their policy of the colonial "appropriation" of those territories, clearing the ground for the massive implantation there of Israeli settlers. The map distributed at the request of the representative of Jordan as a Council document [S/15488, annex II], which shows the Israeli settlements, has once again made it only too clear that the occupiers are moving towards the point of converting the land belonging to the Arabs into isolated ghetto-type enclaves or a kind of bantustan reduced to the role of agrarian appendages to the Israeli economy. The compilers of this map can scarcely be suspected of inaccuracies or exaggerations. It was issued by the rural settlement departments of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel, which act as the principal co-ordinators of the settlements policy in Israel.

130. As a result of arbitrary expropriations and requisitions of Arab lands, more than half of the territory of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip have already fallen into the hands of Israelis. About 140 settlements, not counting Jerusalem and its suburbs, have been established in those territories. In the course of time, the

appetites of the Zionist annexationists have been growing. Recently, an announcement was made in Tel Aviv about plans for a sharp increase in the number of Israeli settlers in those areas, up to 400,000 in the next five years and nearly 1.5 million in the next 30 years.

131. Hand in hand with the economic plundering of Arab lands, Israel has methodically been stepping up violence against the Arab inhabitants of those territories. The murder of unarmed people, mass repression and torture, arbitrary arrest and expulsion have become facts of everyday life in the occupied territories. Thousands of people continue to languish in Israeli concentration camps and prisons. In just one of them, the Ansar Camp, set up by the Israeli army in occupied southern Lebanon, up to 5,000 arrested Palestinians and Lebanese are being held. Reports that are coming in about the continuing abductions and murders of Palestinians and the discovery of new mass graves in the area of Sidon—a fact to which our attention was drawn by the representative of the PLO and which was confirmed by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East—show that Israeli policy everywhere, whether it be in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights or southern Lebanon, is based on naked terror against the Arab population.

132. With regard to the methods of the Israeli occupiers, there is eloquent evidence in the recent statement by such an "expert on pacification" as the Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, General Eitan, who stated: "This system of harassment has proved itself in practice. It works very well with Arabs." It would appear that those assertions on the part of the highest-ranking officer in the Israeli army, who bears direct responsibility for the mass murders of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps, require no commentary. They serve to confirm once again the fact that the Israeli leaders, carried away by the arrogance of power, have decided to force the Palestinian and other Arab peoples to their knees and force them to resign themselves to occupation and, ultimately, to impose upon them their predatory Camp David-type peace.

133. However, those plans only serve to demonstrate the extraordinary political short-sightedness of those who now stand at the controls of the State machine of Israel. The facts demonstrate that the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, are building up their resistance to the occupiers.

134. Of course, Israel could not have embarked upon such a defiant course if it did not have behind it the looming figure of its "strategic partner", the United States. The recent Israeli incursion into Lebanon once again starkly revealed the very essence of the imperialist course of the United States in the Middle East and the level of military and political support afforded Tel Aviv by the United States. However, the facts show that the entrenchment of Israel in the Arab territories depends in no small

way on the direct support and assistance of Washington. As was pointed out recently by *The Washington Post*:

"at the very least half of United States military and economic assistance to Israel, which amounts to \$2.6 billion a year, that is, \$1,000 per capita for all Israeli citizens, is used to pay for the implementation of Israeli expansion in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights."

135. Those figures shed true light on the hints we hear from time to time from official Washington to the effect that the intensive establishment of ever more Israeli settlements is creating certain impediments to the political game engaged in by the United States concerning a Middle East settlement. In actual fact, the present United States Administration, protecting its Israeli protégé, far from reducing, is actually increasing considerably its assistance to Tel Aviv, providing it with the possibility of gnawing away even further into Arab territory. For the next financial year this assistance will amount to about \$3 billion. And the United States Secretary of State, replying recently to the question of the possibility of the Administration exercising at least a minimum of pressure on Israel, talked about the inadvisability of "forcing people to do things they believe to be against their interests". Clearly, that approach is welcomed with gratitude in Tel Aviv. However, that policy arouses a completely different view on the part of the Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese living under the heel of the Israeli occupation.

136. The actions of Israel in the occupied Arab territories are a flagrant violation of Council resolutions and of numerous international conventions and agreements which Israeli representatives themselves have signed, including the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.¹

137. Suffice it to recall that in resolution 465 (1980), the Council determined:

"that all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, . . . have no legal validity"

and it called upon Israel:

"to rescind those measures, to dismantle the existing settlements and in particular to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories . . .".

The Council unanimously condemned Tel Aviv's annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and unanimously called for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. However, none of those decisions has yet been complied with.

138. It is the profound conviction of the Soviet delegation that the aggressor must be made to comply with

those demands. The Council must take measures that would erect a solid barrier to the annexationist designs of the Israeli aggressors—and the Council has such possibilities pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations.

139. As for the Soviet Union, it has unswervingly supported and will continue to support the just cause of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, as well as the valiant struggle of the Palestinian people for their legal rights. The Soviet Union proceeds from the belief that a genuine solution of the Palestinian problem can be brought about only within the framework of a comprehensive negotiated Middle East settlement, which should be based on United Nations decisions on the Middle East.

140. As was once again stressed in the joint Soviet-Palestinian communiqué, issued on 14 January 1983 in connection with the visit to the Soviet Union of the delegation of the PLO, headed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Arafat, such a settlement should provide for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, and for the exercise by the Arab people of Palestine of their inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination, the creation of their own independent State, and the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes, in accordance with existing United Nations decisions.

141. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated its readiness to co-operate practically with all who are prepared to work for the implementation of those provisions within the framework of honest collective international efforts, with the participation of all interested parties, including, of course, the PLO, as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We are convinced that only such a course can bring about a just and lasting peace for all States and peoples of the Middle East.

142. I now resume my role as PRESIDENT.

143. The representative of the PLO has asked to be allowed to make a statement, and I call on him.

144. Mr. TERZI (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish to read out a message from the head of the Palestine National Council to the President of the Security Council which I received by telephone this morning. It states:

"The Palestine National Council, which is meeting in Algeria, feels concern over the practices perpetrated by the Israeli forces as well as other Fascist forces against Palestinians in occupied Palestine and also against Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

"Those practices, which victimized scores of Palestinians living in Lebanon, were meant to terrorize and displace them.

"The Security Council is called upon at this critical period to discharge its international responsibility to

protect these innocent lives and to adopt the necessary resolutions to guarantee that."

[The speaker continued in English.]

145. In its persistence in carrying out its repressive measures and criminal acts, Israel, through its occupation forces in the occupied Palestinian territories, imposed, on 14 February, a curfew on the Al-Kasaba quarter in the city of Nablus. Of course, the occupation authorities had to find a reason for that repressive measure, and the reason given was that the demonstrations in Nablus were in support of the current meetings of the Palestine National Council.

146. On the same day, they imposed a curfew on the Kalandia refugee camp north of Jerusalem. Today, 16 February, *The New York Times* reported in a brief, isolated story that: "About 200 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have been arrested in two days".

147. Again today, Israeli colonial settlers from the Kiryat Arba settlement, established on confiscated land belonging to the city of Hebron, held a provocative demonstration in Zahiriyeh village, which has been under curfew for almost three weeks. Israeli soldiers and police protected the settlers, who drove around Zahiriyeh in cars, threatening villagers with severe measures against those who throw stones at Israeli vehicles. Kiryat Arba colonial settlers also entered Halhoul, near Hebron, in cars, uttering through loudspeakers similar threats against its inhabitants.

148. The mayors of Hebron and Halhoul were expelled by the racist forces of occupation. They were received by the Council [2223rd meeting], where they pleaded that they be allowed to return. The Council decided [resolution 468 (1980)] that the two mayors should be enabled to return to their towns, but Israel has not carried out that decision and the mayors are still among the hundreds of Palestinians who have been arbitrarily expelled from their homes.

149. In today's *New York Times* there is a touching story dealing with a vigil that was held in Jerusalem at the spot where a 33-year-old man was killed and nine other persons wounded as a result of a hand-grenade attack on peaceful demonstrators condemning the policies of the Government of Israel. The demonstrators

were peaceful citizens and nobody can accuse them of being anti-Semites. But there is a message of hope in the report:

"A 13-year-old girl named Yael came today and stood silently and looked at the flame for a long time. Then she took a candle, stooped, lighted it and placed it on a stone beside the others.

"'I'm here because I'm sorry about the man killed here,' she said simply. 'It is important for us to be here, because I show that I care for our rights, and I want peace.'"

Yes, Mr. President, I should like through you to assure Yael and the hundreds of thousands of Yael's that my 15-year-old son also wants peace and to live in peace in his home, the home his father and his ancestors were born in. This is his right.

150. The report in *The New York Times* also says:

"The police, who are conducting an intensive investigation with the help of the army and the security services, have made no arrests in the attack, which occurred Thursday evening."

151. We recall those attacks on the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and Al Bireh which resulted in the loss of people's arms and legs—attacks which the police are still investigating. Yet the repeated requests of the Security Council and the General Assembly to the Israeli occupation authorities to trace the criminals who are responsible have fallen on deaf ears. But if the criminals are those who are in power, how can they find themselves?

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

² Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Convention and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

³ *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1982), vol. 18, No. 35, p. 1081.

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